

/15 cont./

[621] supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for
[433] trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected
[578] in the frequency of dissensions and fights, the allusions to the
"espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusa-
tions of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361] Itariri, in the Serra dos Itatins, between Feruibe and Juquiá,
at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It
seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last
century. Some 8 to 10 Nandéva families live there in a cultural
situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile
[563] I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and
caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin
in the group: a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestizo with
a caboclo father and Guarani mother. For some time a group
of Mbũĩ families who came from Paraguay in 1946 under the
leadership of the fãnderũ Miguel lived in the village; they later
settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Itatins.

Among these Mbũĩ the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian
influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361] Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos,
about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e.,
behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago.

[162] When I knew it in 1946 the population present was 55 individuals,
namely, 17 men, 15 women, and 23 children. All of them be-

[563] longed to the Mbũĩ subgroup, except for an old Nandéva couple
and a mestizo woman, who had come from another village.

There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were
distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one
elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three,
and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-
families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the

[186] Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco
Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the
"Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them.

[484] They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and
cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

/101 cont./

624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish
the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of
alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
646 official, the Bandurá or pai can exert his authority even against
177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of

affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension,
which is manifested in the relations between the group and the
official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the
Bandurá converge manifestations of criticism and discontent
concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the Bandurá
as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission.
On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in
charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view.
To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the ma-
terial interests of the group, always threatened by the white man,
and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the
one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his co-
operation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows
clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet
624 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
622 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
182 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
[554] whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
[556] also may be limited to the family group (there always being the
possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming
to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion,
whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and
the civil one, in the hands of the capitão: a more or less despotic
little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except
what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious
orientation of the community.

/102 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature,
and the Randeru. In turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater au-
thority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or ex-
ternal politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less
directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases
the Randeru takes any action, it is because, for the problems of
real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
622 At Panambi, Paf Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
648 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
182 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
756 he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da

• [578] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de
[554] Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order
to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the
needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always,
however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred
rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the
end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and
incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less imbued with the
156 Guarani mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the
office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention
with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the
people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploita-
tions on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter
night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing
celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that
he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the
people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

/127 cont./

753
754
171
Among the South American Indians the most common opinion about the origin of sickness is the one that bad individuals, particularly sorcerers from a foreign tribe or even from among their own people, abuse their faculties and extraordinary powers in order to make an object or substance responsible for the illness, the quid malignum, enter the body of another. This theory is also accepted by the Guarani, among whom, however, it is not exclusive, but exists side by side with other etiologies proceeding directly from the religious doctrines.

753
971
578
In any case, among the Guarani too the belief that sicknesses, at least the majority of them, are explained by the bad intentions of knowledgeable persons and bearers of magic resources predominates. Thus the appearance of an epidemic or even of a series of cases of sickness in the same village and in a short space of time can cause important social consequences, generate distrust, misunderstanding, or even open enmities and fights within the local group, putting into action disruptive forces of social life existing in a latent state. It is even possible to state that the mystical sense of solidarity, which, although it does not unite the whole tribe and not always the individuals of a certain horde, makes the populations of the different villages cohesive, rarely suffers dissolution of continuity, except for the atmosphere of insecurity and discontent that dominates all in situations of this nature. /128/ This is a supposition made, of course, concerning villages that do not already find themselves in a state of open social disorganization through continuous contact with civilization. After the epidemic is past, there is no delay in re-establishing the normal equilibrium, and the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, who has used the magic and religious resources, or that of the capitão, who has made use of his police authority in order to normalize the situation by fighting the opposing forces, then is subject to considerable increment.

754
157
One of the disruptive forces most characteristic of Guarani society is the constant suspicion of practices of black magic within the group. There is not much exaggeration in the statement that

563 /140 cont./
 177 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
 177 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínia, a Pernambucan
 178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
 177 father of half a dozen mestizo children. He himself baptizes the
 children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile,
 as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate
 into the Guarani culture in this manner are soon modified in
 771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
 177 children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
 576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing: it is a simple
 gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbatá
 [184] of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, where
 the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles
 and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent
 to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
 177 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
 178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost
 [182] all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
 159 customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a
 • [184] mongarai, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-
 operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
 771 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Nandéva of Bananal,
 177 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre
 178 Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the
 159 original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the
 "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the
 deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal,
 Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré,
 [175] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death,
 the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente,
 had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30
 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part
 from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a
 glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity.
 There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer.

182
829
162
162
[48]

/174 cont./

the mythical dream. But in the village of Aaribá, for example, where there live about a hundred Nandéva whose ancestors hopefully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, aguydjé, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

182
182
178
178
829

The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized population of the region has taken place in a quite different direction. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstinence in sexual life was known, yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, however, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and fights.

• [578]
[175]

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Caingú*: Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds.

The war arrows of the ancient *Guarani* were often tipped with human bones.

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Microstachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*).

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Caingú* boys to shoot birds or small rodents. The missiles are small clay pellets.

Caingú clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guarani* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guarani* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guarani*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guarani* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions.

All *Apepocua-Guarani* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people.

A *Guarani* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Caingú* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and

* For a good description of the *Guarani* pellet-bow, see Asara, 1909, 265.